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The Struggle for Change in Soviet Social Sciences

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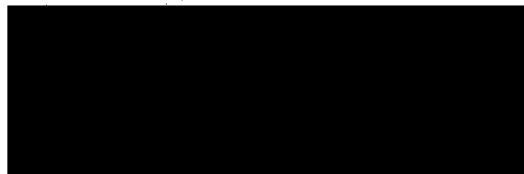
S U P P L E M E N T

THE STRUGGLE FOR CHANGE IN SOVIET SOCIAL SCIENCES

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I N T R O D U C T I O N

The 6 May PRAVDA announcement of the postponement of the celebration of the 250th anniversary of the Academy of Sciences, originally scheduled to begin in Moscow on 14 May, occurred against a background of sharp dispute between doctrinaire and modernist schools of thought in Soviet science and politics. This study examines salient features of that dispute since Khrushchev's ouster in October 1964.

The leading figures in the current struggle to liberate the social sciences from the shackles of Stalin's dogmas have appeared to be Bonifatii Kedrov, director of the Institute of Philosophy under the Academy of Sciences, and Mikhail Iovchuk, rector of the Academy of Social Sciences under the CPSU Central Committee. Both were proteges of Politburo member Andrey Zhdanov during the early postwar period, when Iovchuk served as a deputy head of Agitprop and member of the editorial board of BOLSHEVIK, while Kedrov was chief editor of the journal QUESTIONS OF PHILOSOPHY, established in 1947 under Zhdanov's aegis. Both were united at that time by an avowedly universalist and pragmatic outlook directed against a traditionally chauvinistic and doctrinaire outlook shared by such prominent philosophers as Georgiy Aleksandrov, Mark Mitin, and Pavel Yudin, and both lost their jobs in the 1949 purge and were driven into professional oblivion, only to reappear after Stalin's death as supporters of Khrushchev's practical reforms in industry and agriculture.

There are numerous indications in the public record that the dispute between the two sharply divergent schools of thought intensified in early 1973, coming to a head by the beginning of this year. What appears to have transformed an ostensibly professional dispute into a major political confrontation was the enlistment of influential natural scientists in the cause of the social scientists, as was the case in the climactic struggle against Lysenkoism in 1954. In the middle of that year Academician Andrey Sakharov, then a leading Soviet nuclear physicist and a figure of great prominence in the Soviet world of science, led a revolt of academicians against Lysenko which so enraged Khrushchev that he threatened to abolish the academy. According to the account provided by dissident Soviet biologist Zhores Medvedev, the group of Soviet leaders who overthrew Khrushchev in October 1964 condemned his attempt to force followers of Lysenko into the academy and repudiated his threat of reprisals after he had been rebuffed by the academicians.

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Unlike the 1954 revolt, which centered on the liberation of biology and agriculture from Lysenkoism, the current struggle is aimed at liberating the entire spectrum of social sciences from the dogmas of Stalinism. Its principal purpose is clearly practical in nature: to equip present and future generations of Soviet students and professionals with intellectual tools capable of coping with the complex demands of an age of rapid scientific and technological change. The touchstone of philosophy uniting the older generation of modernists with their younger followers is an avowed belief in the universality of science--both natural and social--eloquently expounded by Zvezhuk, Kedrov and others in the early postwar period, as well as during 1973.

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CONSERVATIVES AND MODERNISTS IN THE ACADEMY OF SCIENCES

During the past decade there have been numerous indications of high-level controversy over control of the vast domain of scientific activity under the jurisdiction of the uniquely influential and prestigious USSR Academy of Sciences. The controversy has been reflected primarily in the repeated shakeups in the vice presidency of the academy--the critical post of political overseer of the scientific domain--and in the directorates of the various specialized research institutes under the academy in the social sciences. Until quite recently, the controversy between doctrinaire and modernist schools of thought in the social sciences was waged for the most part within the conventional framework of Soviet political discourse--that is to say, it was muted, allusive and conducted in an almost gentlemanly manner.

The tenure of Aleksey Rumyantsev as vice president of the academy--from May 1967 to May 1971--was a period of relative tranquility in the scientific realm. Before gaining the post Rumyantsev, a political economist, had won a reputation as a modernist for his yeoman service in defense of Khrushchev's industrial and agricultural reforms and later for his championing of a policy of accommodation with the intelligentsia. Indeed, his outspoken PRAVDA articles on such accommodation in February and September 1965 probably cost him his post as chief editor of that paper in September that year. The loss of this post to Mikhail Zimyanin, a Belorussian with close career ties with first deputy premier Mazurov, coincided with the arrest of dissident writers Sinyavskiy and Daniel, the onset of active official repression of dissidents and the beginning of the underground samizdat movement on a broad scale.

As academy vice president Rumyantsev continued to plead the cause of accommodation even in the face of the rising tide of official repression. For example, two of his articles published in March 1971 offered perhaps the most eloquent, most carefully reasoned and most ingenious defense of a policy of collaboration between the regime and the new Soviet middle class that has ever been advanced publicly in the Soviet Union. In spirit though not in content, the two articles had much in common with others appearing at that time in the dissident samizdat movement.

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In one of the articles, entitled "The Communist Ideal of Culture" and published in the Sverdlovsk literary journal URAL No. 3, 1971, he warned against the danger of "Makhayevshchina"--a virulently anti-intellectual strain in the labor movement which PRAVDA denounced in a four-column article on 2 March 1926 and in a six-column article on 18 November 1938--and he wielded it as a club against the repressive policies of the Brezhnev regime. In the other article, published in THE WORKING CLASS AND THE MODERN WORLD No. 1, 1971, he warned against zealots who see the world in black and white without recognizing vital shades of differentiation among the so-called "enemies" of the Soviet Union. "Dogmatism and doctrinal deficiencies," he warned, "are the primary danger because they weaken the ties of communist parties with life, transform their theoretical viewpoints into an accumulation of abstract formulas and hinder a flexible reaction to the appearance of new tendencies and problems in social life."

Under Rumyantsev's aegis a new Institute for Concrete Social Research was formed in 1968, and he served as its director concurrently with his other academic responsibilities. The institute became a magnet as well as a haven for some of the best minds in the social sciences. For example, Fyodr Burlatskiy became Rumyantsev's deputy in the institute following the furor caused by the article he co-authored in KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA on 30 June 1967 openly calling for abolition of controls in the Soviet theater. The institute became a pioneer in the field of empirical research and a target of criticism by doctrinaire philosophers who, paraphrasing Dedijer's description of the late Pavel Yudin, behaved like KGB-men in the clothes of philosophers and philosophers in the clothes of KGB-men. By late 1971 the axe finally fell and Rumyantsev had lost both his academy and institute posts.

Rumyantsev's fall sparked an upsurge of academic resistance to official diktat by growing numbers of Soviet social and natural scientists concerned about the backward drift of Brezhnevism. By early 1973 the upsurge led to an unprecedented coalescence of forces under the direction of the Academy of Sciences, the Institute of Philosophy, the journal QUESTIONS OF PHILOSOPHY and a scientific council on philosophical questions of natural science formed by the Presidium of the academy.

PHILOSOPHERS ORGANIZE DISCUSSION ON SOCIAL SCIENCES METHODS

A drive to liberate the social sciences from Stalinist dogmatism was initiated shortly after the venerable philosopher B.M. Kedrov was appointed director of the Institute of Philosophy in April 1973.

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Late that month, a roundtable was held in Moscow aimed at promoting closer ties between natural and social sciences. In addition to Kedrov, the organizers of the meeting included rector of the Academy of Social Sciences Mikhail Iovchuk, the young editor of QUESTIONS OF PHILOSOPHY I.T. Frolov, and moderates in the academy's council on natural science. Among those attending the 25 April meeting were such world renowned luminaries from the world of Soviet science as nuclear physicist V.A. Fok, biochemist A.I. Oparin, geneticist N.P. Dubinin, cybernetician A.I. Berg, mathematician L.V. Kantorovich and mathematical economist N.P. Fedorenko. Lengthy accounts of the discussion, in which seven full members of the Academy of Sciences and five corresponding members participated, appeared in the September and October 1973 issues of QUESTIONS OF PHILOSOPHY.

Frolov during the course of the discussion affirmed a new goal for philosophy--to take the initiative in bringing natural and social sciences closer together. The discussion was dominated by the modernist social scientists--led by Kedrov, Iovchuk, Kh. N. Momdzhlyan and Fedorenko--and modernist natural scientists such as Dubinin, Berg and Kantorovich. Iovchuk was sharply critical of the prevailing "erroneous" notion that "science does not possess the 'merit of universality'"--a view clearly manifested in the narrowly chauvinist outlook of the doctrinaire scholars and apparatchiki. He attacked those social scientists who wish to ignore natural sciences and ridiculed those who try "to scare us with the bugaboo of so-called scientism"--the notion that science will crush man and social sciences. Kantorovich assailed doctrinaire hostility to mathematical methods in economics and Berg declared those who resist interaction between natural and social sciences are "hopeless conservatives."

Kedrov declared that Marxism-Leninism is not a rigid dogma but is instead creative and evolving, and he urged natural scientists to play a greater role in developing Marxist theory. His enthusiasm for increasing the influence of natural sciences in social sciences is understandable, since before becoming director of the philosophy institute in 1973 he had been director of the Institute of History of Natural Science and Technology for over 10 years and had specialized in philosophical questions of natural science. He had been named a professor at the Academy of Social Sciences in 1971, shortly after Iovchuk's appointment as rector in late 1970. In the April roundtable Iovchuk singled Kedrov out for praise for his work as director of the natural science history institute.

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The sharpest statements at the roundtable, however, were made by Momdzhyan, leader of the chair of philosophy at Iovchuk's academy, who bluntly demanded an end to the shackles on social sciences. Declaring the situation in economics, history and especially philosophy unsatisfactory, he called for a "strictly scientific approach" which would permit social scientists to innovate as in the natural sciences. Demanding that the work methods and style of thought be identical in the two realms of science, he declared that "it cannot be that in one science people deal in discoveries of new scientific truths, while in a number of branches of social sciences for decades they have repeated the same old theses." He stated that "none of us intends to abandon party positions in theory; but if anyone thinks that all he has to do in science is to arm himself with a bludgeon and beat on the head anyone who expresses his thoughts differently, nothing sensible will result." He added that "we should remember that the sooner we learn to talk the language accepted among scholars, the faster and more interestingly our joint work will proceed."

A month later, Trapeznikov, head of the CPSU Central Committee section for science and higher educational institutions, responded to these demands by convoking a conference in Moscow of social scientists representing the fields of philosophy, sociology and law. At the conference he attacked philosophers "who call themselves innovators" for "vulgarizing" Marxism-Leninism and condemned some unnamed philosophers and sociologists for abandoning a "party" approach to the social sciences. The lengthy account of the conference published in the August 1973 QUESTIONS OF PHILOSOPHY indicated that doctrinaire philosophers like F.V. Konstantinov, academic-secretary of the academy's philosophy and law division; M.B. Mitin, and Sociological Research Institute director M.N. Rutkevich had backed Trapeznikov's complaints about the ideological deviations. Iovchuk, Kedrov and Frolov also spoke at the conference but withheld their fire.

PHILOSOPHY INSTITUTE DIRECTOR KEDROV LEADS REFORM DRIVE

Kedrov had been appointed director of the Institute of Philosophy in April 1973--after a two-year deadlock over the selection of a new director--and he signaled his intention to convert the institute into an instrument for change. His leading role in the drive to liberate social sciences became particularly evident in a September QUESTIONS OF PHILOSOPHY article. In the article,

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published for "discussion" purposes, he declared that the institute must no longer just repeat "long known truths" but must "really move philosophy forward." Calling for a more scholarly approach, he assailed the conventional practice of criticizing works simply by excerpting objectionable phrases and insisted that works under criticism must be studied thoroughly in order to subject objectionable concepts to rational examination. His remarks were addressed to both Soviet and Western philosophical works. As an example, he cited the famed French biologist Jacques Monod's book, which had refuted Marxist dialectics on the basis of biological data. Soviet philosophers and biologists, Kedrov noted, have tried to ignore Monod, who is a "great scientist" and cannot be "simply dismissed or run down in an offhand manner." Kedrov announced that his institute would henceforth work much more closely with its organ, QUESTIONS OF PHILOSOPHY, planning more roundtable discussions and scrutinizing the journal's work.

The journal's chief editor Frolov had worked closely with Kedrov even before the latter became institute director. For example, he had collaborated with Kedrov on a report in early 1973, according to an interview Kedrov gave in the December 1973 QUESTIONS OF PHILOSOPHY. After Kedrov's September article, Frolov personally took up the cudgels to refute Monod's book on scholarly grounds. In a long article in a February 1974 issue of KOMMUNIST No. 3, he complained that Monod sought to prove the impossibility of genuine science under Marxism by citing the suppression of the theory of genes by the Lysenkoists. He indignantly reminded Monod that Soviet philosophers themselves had overthrown the "pseudo-dialectical" attitudes in biology.

Frolov, like Rumyantsev, has long viewed Lysenkoism as a pathology affecting all of Soviet science and philosophy, and he played a leading role in debunking Lysenkoism, writing a book on "Genetics and Dialectics" in the late 1960's and articles on this subject in the January and August 1967 issues of QUESTIONS OF PHILOSOPHY, shortly before becoming chief editor. His 1967 articles, like his latest article in KOMMUNIST, refuted contentions by foreigners that Lysenkoism proved the worthlessness of dialectics in science. His book not only affirmed the objectivity of Soviet biology but, according to a hostile review in the 17 May 1969 RURAL LIFE, attempted to ignore the role of ideology in science. Kedrov also was a longtime foe of Lysenko, having been fired as QUESTIONS OF PHILOSOPHY chief editor in 1949 after being accused of resisting Lysenko's authority, as well as fostering other ideological deviations.

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The October 1973 QUESTIONS OF PHILOSOPHY, in addition to reporting the April roundtable, carried an article by mathematical economist Fedorenko, entitled "On the Interaction of Natural and Social Sciences," which complained that "bourgeois philosophers" were trying to "use the achievements of natural science, especially physics, mathematics and biology, to discredit dialectical materialism." He defended his use of mathematical methods and computers in economics against conservative Soviet economists who for years had been calling mathematical programming, cybernetics, systems analysis, forecasting and the like contradictory to Marxist-Leninist doctrine and who labeled Fedorenko's "System of Optimal Functioning of the Economy" (SOFE) an importation of alien ideas.

The ideas expressed in the April roundtable discussion were challenged in the 11 December PRAVDA by philosopher G. Volkov, who warned against "mechanically and thoughtlessly" adopting natural science methods and approaches in social sciences and who complained that infatuation with quantitative methods creates only an "illusion of a strictly scientific approach." He wrote that "the 'diktat' of natural science over social science which appears in the uncritical and servile copying of methods of exact analysis in studying social processes is as fraught with negative results as the former claims for 'diktat' of philosophy over natural science."

Frolov struck back with a bold editorial in the January 1974 issue of QUESTIONS OF PHILOSOPHY challenging Trapeznikov's call for party loyalty in social sciences, demanding the right to pursue the truth "no matter how bitter and mercilessly critical it is" and assailing party hacks and their untalented stooges in science for heavy-handed attacks on innovative social scientists.* In view of Kedrov's statement in the September QUESTIONS OF PHILOSOPHY that his institute was now working "in the most close contact" with the QUESTIONS OF PHILOSOPHY editors in planning philosophical activities, the editorial undoubtedly represented Kedrov's views as well as Frolov's.

ECONOMISTS CHALLENGE STALINIST ECONOMIC DOGMA

Paralleling the battle on the philosophical front, economists have been conducting a struggle to overthrow Stalin's dogmas in political economy as well. Although most public bickering between conservative and innovative economists has centered on Fedorenko's SOFE, a deeper

* See the Supplementary Article "Challenge to Party Domination of Soviet Social Sciences" in the TRENDS of 3 April 1974.

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dispute over revising the authoritative textbook on political economy has been dragging on for years. Despite an August 1967 CPSU Central Committee decree and a 1968 Academy of Sciences decision calling for the preparation of a new textbook on political economy, debate over the orientation of the textbook has prevented implementation of the decision. A similar debate after 1951 blocked the publication of such a textbook during Stalin's last years.

The bitterness of the debate over whether to continue training political economy students mainly as propagandists or to instruct them in practical economics was manifested at a 22-25 May 1973 conference at Moscow State University on improving training of political economy instructors. Economist G.S. Lisichkin, an avowed modernist, reported the conference in the 27 May 1973 KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, pointing out the backwardness of political economy and stressing the demands by modernists at the conference that practicability be the main guide post in economics and that students of political economy be taught the use of computers and mathematical methods.

Doctrinaire political economists V.A. Peshekhonov, N.A. Tsagolov and others responded with a different version of the conference in a June 1973 ECONOMIC GAZETTE, stressing that specialists in political economy be trained to polemicize against bourgeois and revisionist concepts and to retain their ideological orientation by avoiding practical economic matters.

A detailed account of the conference in the ECONOMIC SERIES OF THE ACADEMY OF SCIENCES, No. 6, 1973, revealed that sharp differences over detente and the value of studying Western economics had also entered into the debate. Tsagolov, head of the department of political economy at Moscow State University and chief editor of the current doctrinaire textbook on political economy, insisted that detente increased the need for "unmasking" alien economic theories "since the danger of penetration of bourgeois ideology rises as various kinds of contacts with the capitalist world increase." He demanded a halt to "attempts to find a scientific element in modern bourgeois political economy."

By contrast, A.G. Mileykovskiy, head of the sector for study of economic theory of capitalist countries in the Institute of World Economics and International Relations, declared that most Soviet economists divide bourgeois political economy into two parts--the ideological and the practical. Others attacked this notion of the "two functions" of bourgeois political economy and stressed intensification of the ideological struggle.

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Fedorenko raised the subject of the new political economy textbook in a July 1973 QUESTIONS OF ECONOMICS article, insisting that the new work "must not be 'just another textbook'" repeating the bromides of the past but must instead incorporate modern economic methods and be useful for the practical tasks of economic management. Clearly, he had in mind the urgent need to remove the blinders of ideological obscurantism from the eyes of the present and future generations of Soviet citizens.

NOVEMBER 1973 CONFERENCE

To reassert orthodoxy in economic sciences, Trapeznikov called a Central Committee conference of economists on 28-30 November similar to the one held in May for philosophers and sociologists. The versions of the speeches at this conference published in the January and February issues of ECONOMIC GAZETTE and in the February QUESTIONS OF ECONOMICS indicate that the conference was designed to accuse the nation's top economist, Fedorenko, academic-secretary of the Academy of Sciences' economics division and director of the Central Mathematical Economics Institute, of ideological deviations similar to those allegedly committed by Rumyantsev. Without criticizing Fedorenko by name, Trapeznikov attacked the work of the academy's economics division and chided the school of mathematical economists led by Fedorenko for differentiating between its "constructive" approach to economics and the so-called "descriptive" approach of the doctrinaire economists. He stridently lamented the failure of the Fedorenko school to produce a new textbook. Ye. I. Kapustin, director of the Institute of Economics, long a stronghold of dogmatism, suggested that his institute be given prime responsibility for preparing the new textbook.

Other speakers at the conference also sniped at Fedorenko. Upholding the principle of "party loyalty" in economics, the reactionary Moscow gorkom secretary for ideology, V.N. Yagodkin, complained that deviations from Marxist-Leninism by economists had not been exposed soon enough and had therefore spread widely. He criticized attempts to work out mathematical economic methods common to both capitalism and socialism and declared that application of mathematical methods can be fruitful only when "firmly based on the conclusions of Marxist-Leninist economic theory and the political economy of socialism." He also assailed Lisichkin for a new book advancing the idea of cooperative ownership of enterprises, presumably along Yugoslav lines.

Gosplan Deputy Chairman A.V. Bachurin, a longtime Fedorenko foe, attacked Fedorenko's SOFE and revealed that Gosplan's collegium had recently requested the Academy of Sciences' Presidium to turn over

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examination of the theoretical foundations of SOFE to Fedorenko's conservative rivals in the Institute of Economics in order to "clear up its mistaken theses." The harshest criticism came from Fedorenko's direct superior, Academy of Sciences' Vice President P.N. Fedoseyev, who claimed that since the economic innovators are often "incompetent" in doctrinal matters and uncritical of alien ideas, they sometimes "open cracks for the penetration of bourgeois methodology." Assailing lack of cooperation between economists, Fedoseyev complained that "they talk 'in different languages'-- some in the language of mathematics and others in the language of political economy."

Under fire from his superiors at the November conference, Fedorenko avoided polemics and, judging from the 7 January version of his report in ECONOMIC GAZETTE, referred to SOFE only once. Even this was eliminated in the February QUESTIONS OF ECONOMICS rewrite of his speech, which at the same time added a new paragraph on the importance of making Soviet economics an "aggressive ideological-theoretical, political weapon."

DRIVE AGAINST MODERNISTS INTENSIFIES IN JANUARY

Apparently in response to the growing impasse between the divergent schools of thought, Brezhnev moved in late January to replace Yegorov from his post of chief editor of KOMMUNIST.* The move bore all the hallmarks of an object lesson for the dissident scholars prompted by the strikingly modernist article Yegorov had authored in the November 1973 issue of the literary journal ZNAMYA, which had urged a widening of the exchange of "artistic valuables" with the West. Rumyantsev's abrupt removal as chief editor of PRAVDA in 1965 similarly had served as an object lesson.

The likelihood that Kosygin was the primary target of the move against Yegorov may be inferred on circumstantial grounds. Yegorov, it should be recalled, had replaced V.P. Stepanov as chief editor of KOMMUNIST in September 1965, following Stepanov's scathing attack on "narrow-minded 'practical men'" who equate "communism with the mere fulfillment of the 'stomach's needs.'" The transparent target of the attack was Kosygin's 19 March 1965 speech to the central planners, which had defined economic planning in expansive

* For background on Yegorov's ouster and reassignment, see the TRENDS of 17 April 1974, pages 22-24, and 24 April 1974, pages 10-13.

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terms as "a complex of all problems related to man's life" and had viewed the goals of planning in social as well as technocratic terms as "the solving of social problems, problems linked with the raising of the peoples' standard of living."

Apparently about the same time, the young revisionist director of the Institute of USSR History, P.V. Volobuyev, was removed. Volobuyev, whose unorthodox history of the 1917 revolution had made him a special target of conservatives for the last two years,* was last identified as director in the April ECONOMICS OF AGRICULTURE account of a December conference, while the April QUESTIONS OF HISTORY reported him delivering a speech at his history institute on 17 January but only identified him as corresponding member of the Academy of Sciences instead of as institute director. New attacks on Volobuyev had occurred at December meetings, which were publicized in the February and March issues of QUESTIONS OF CPSU HISTORY.

IZVESTIYA on 9 May revealed that Volobuyev's successor at the history institute is 67-year old Academician A.L. Narochitskiy, a specialist in the history of foreign relations. His appointment apparently occurred sometime after mid-March, since he still signed off as chief editor of MODERN AND CONTEMPORARY HISTORY in issue No. 2, signed to press on 12 March. Since 1960 Narochitskiy has been head of the department of modern and contemporary history at the Moscow State Pedagogical Institute and since 1962 chief editor of the journal MODERN AND CONTEMPORARY HISTORY, organ of the more orthodox Institute of General History. He is clearly more orthodox than Volobuyev, having signed a collective letter condemning Sakharov in the 5 September IZVESTIYA and having attacked revisionist historians in a recent signed article in his journal. In issue No. 2 of MODERN AND CONTEMPORARY HISTORY, signed to press 12 March, he cited the 24th CPSU Congress call to fight "mistaken attempts to downgrade certain periods in the history of Soviet society, deviate from class positions, and belittle the achievements of the Soviet people in building socialism" and stressed the importance of the March 1973 Central Committee conference on history which had pointed out "omissions and shortcomings." Volobuyev has been repeatedly accused of deviating from a class approach, and the March conference had been organized by Trapeznikov to attack Volobuyev and force him to recant. Narochitskiy was one of the speakers at the March conference but the contents of his speech were not published.

* For Volobuyev's position and recent attacks on him, see the Supplementary Article "New Ally for Leader of Soviet Revisionist Historians" in the TRENDS of 1 May 1974.

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Another personnel change inspired by conservatives came to light on 2 February when PRAVDA first identified doctrinaire philosopher R.I. Kosolapov as deputy head of Agitprop. Kosolapov had clearly demonstrated his anti-intellectual credentials in articles in PRAVDA on 25 May 1968 and 4 November 1970 and in the May 1971 issue of QUESTIONS OF PHILOSOPHY. In the journal article he attacked the view of the intelligentsia as an "elite" or superior "technocratic" group, and in the 1971 PRAVDA article he had pointedly warned against certain "undesirable tendencies" among Soviet economists along lines foreshadowing Brezhnev's derogatory insinuations at the December 1973 CPSU plenum about the "narrow-economic" and "technocratic" outlook of the Soviet middle class.

Kosolapov warned against "undesirable tendencies," defined as

attempts to replace fundamental problems of the political economy of socialism by questions of current economic policy or centralized planning regulators by a system of allegedly automatically operating cost levers and to dissolve the complex social content of the process of the formation of the communist economy into questions of its technical organization.

Continuing in this vein, he said:

The narrowly specialized thinking that forms in such a situation is unable to foresee all the consequences of the development of production or to coordinate it organically with the development of the entire system of socialist social relations, culture and morality.

If nothing else, Kosolapov's antipathy toward economic modernism forms a direct link between Stepanov's diatribe against Kosygin and Brezhnev's speech at the December plenum.

MODERNISTS GAIN AFTER JANUARY CRACKDOWN BACKFIRES

Even before the announcement of the postponement of the Academy of Sciences jubilee, signs of new influences at work suddenly began to appear in swift procession on the internal political scene. A clue to the direction of those influences was provided by a two-column editorial in PRAVDA on 13 March, entitled "Creative

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Approach to Theory." The editorial endorsed the pragmatic philosophy espoused by Khrushchev in the 1950's but anathemized by his doctrinaire opponents. The editorial declared:

Now that a long-term, long-range plan of development of national economy of the USSR for 1976-1990 is being drawn up, social scientists (obshchestvovedy) should rely more fully on practice, meet its demands on a current basis and make wider use of the data of the natural and technical sciences.

In other words, "life itself," as Khrushchev used to put it, should shape Soviet behavior, not the sterile dogmas of the past.

On 16 April, Yegorov, the deposed chief editor of KOMMUNIST, was identified in a new and more prestigious post, as director of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism. On 25 April, a modernist political economist on the editorial board of the journal USA, A.B. Nikolskyev, was identified in NEUES DEUTSCHLAND as new deputy director of Iovchuk's Academy of Social Sciences. He reportedly was accompanying Yegorov on a visit to East Germany for talks with Kurt Hager, secretary for ideology of the East German Central Committee.

Following these talks, Hager authored a notable article in PRAVDA on 14 May. Stressing collaboration between East German and Soviet philosophers, the article reversed the conventional doctrinaire order of precedence of politics over economics. Hager declared:

In the historic competition between two world systems, questions of economics, politics, diplomacy and ideology are coming to the forefront.

Yegorov's reappearance was also followed by indications of a revival of 1965 economic reform ideas. Kosygin on 24 April addressed a meeting of the USSR Council of Ministers for the purpose of announcing a new party-government decree on economic management. The report of the meeting published in PRAVDA three days later, on the 27th, revealed that the decree empowered production associations and enterprises under the Ministry of Light Industry to set production targets themselves on the basis of contracts with retail outlets. The decision was in keeping with proposals Kosygin had advanced a decade earlier for loosening

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central controls over the economy and legitimizing illegal though widely used market mechanisms in economic management (direct ties between enterprises) and introducing new ones as well. Ten years earlier Kossygin had indicated an intention to apply such mechanisms not only in light industry but in heavy industry as well, but his endeavors were subsequently thwarted by political and bureaucratic obstructionism.

Even before Kossygin's actions, signs of a shakeup in the republic planning and governmental bureaucracies became evident. In late March the head of the Uzbek Gosplan, B.K. Ziydullayev, a proponent of republic rather than central economic interests, was replaced by K.A. Akhmedov. In late April V.F. Mityukovich, a Belorussian secretary with a past record of favoring the controversial link system of agriculture, replaced V. Ye. Lobanok as first deputy premier of Belorussia. In early May, K.M. Gerasimov, a defense-industry specialist, was replaced by N.I. Maslennikov, an auto industry specialist, as head of RSFSR Gosplan. The changes clearly pointed to the presence of a new hand--a stronger one--at the controls of the machinery of economic planning and management.

Another sign of the direction in which the political winds were blowing was the reappearance of Fedorenko on the pages of PRAVDA on 12 May. He described the contribution of his institute to one of Kossygin's pilot projects, initiated before the official unveiling of the economic reform at the September 1965 CPSU plenum. The institute had assisted the Moscow Main Administration for Vehicle Transport in the application of mathematical economic methods in 1964, and the experiment enabled the USSR Council of Ministers to transfer Moscow's vehicle transport to a new system of planning and economic incentives in May 1965. The success of the experiment was cited by Kossygin at the September 1965 CPSU plenum as proof of the effectiveness of his proposed economic reform. Fedorenko described the progress of the experiment since then and disclosed that a favorable decision had recently been reached to extend the reforms to other large motor transport organizations.

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* Gerasimov's credentials as a "metal-eater"--Khrushchev's term for opponents of his welfare program--are documented in RADIO PROPAGANDA REPORT RS.48 of 21 November 1961, "Soviet Policy Dispute Over Resource Allocation," page 17.

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